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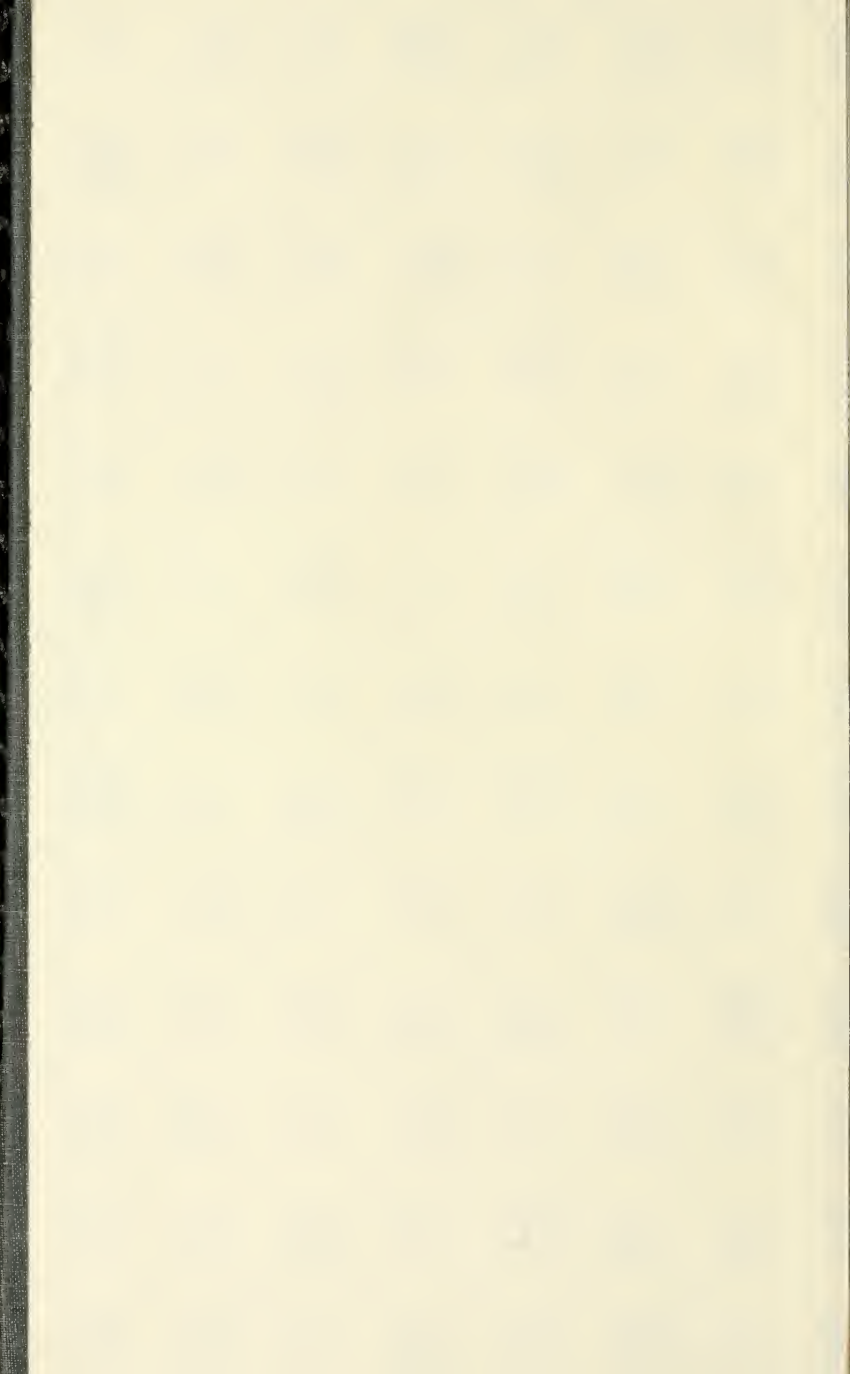
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# **READ AND REFLECT.**

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ADDRESS OF THE

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE.

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**MILLARD FILLMORE,  
PROVED TO BE AN ABOLITIONIST!**

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**GENERAL TAYLOR,**

*PROBABLY PLEDGED TO THE WHIGS OF THE NORTH,*

**IN FAVOR OF THE WILMOT PROVISIO.**

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*Address of the Central National Democratic Republican  
Committee to the Democracy of the United States.*

BRETHREN: We deem it our duty to address you briefly upon the present aspects of the presidential campaign.

At the outset we assure you that nothing has yet occurred which has shaken our confidence in the success of the democratic party, and the triumphant election of its illustrious standard-bearers, LEWIS CASS and WM. O. BUTLER.

Until the recent elections in Pennsylvania and Ohio, the intelligent members of the whig party had given up all hope of the election of their candidates. Their nominations had produced disaffection, distraction, and division in their ranks. Their military candidate had not only failed to awaken any enthusiasm in his favor, but had well-nigh ruined his prospects, faint as they were, by the injudicious correspondence in which he had indulged. In this stage of the campaign, the elections in the western States, and in North Carolina, Maine, and Georgia, occurred, and resulted disastrously to the whig cause. The effect of these triumphs of the democracy was to inspire our party with exultation and undoubting confidence in the election of their candidates, while it filled the hearts of our opponents with fear and dispondency. Hence, while faith in ultimate victory induced the former to relax their efforts, it gave the energy of despair to the latter.

The result of the recent election in Pennsylvania, where the democratic party have a strong and reliable majority, is but the fruit of these two combined causes. While in our belief it has not endangered the democratic cause, it proclaims in

thunder-tones to the democracy the necessity of VIGILANCE, ENERGY, and UNTIRING ACTIVITY.

We repeat, we see nothing in the present state of the campaign to lead us to doubt, for a moment, the final success of the democratic party in November. A calm and dispassionate view of the recent elections in Pennsylvania and Ohio, convinces us that the democracy have nothing to fear from those States in the Presidential election.

In Pennsylvania, all parties and factions opposed to the democratic party united on the whig candidate for governor. He was voted for by whigs, native Americans, abolitionists, and Van Buren men. This union of parties and factions upon the whig candidate has probably secured his election by a majority not exceeding a few hundred votes, while the democratic candidate for canal commissioner was elected by a handsome majority.

In Ohio the democracy had the same combination of factions to encounter. Besides, in the State election we did not expect victory. Yet the result, under all the circumstances, is most glorious. We have gained in the election of members of Congress and the legislature, and, in all probability, have carried our candidate for governor.

In view of these results, can there be a doubt that the votes of Pennsylvania and Ohio will be given to the democratic candidates in November? We think not. Every vote which was cast for Longstreth in Pennsylvania may be relied on for Cass and Butler; as may also every vote given to the gallant Weller in Ohio. But can all the factions that voted for the whig candidates in those States be depended upon for Gen. Taylor? If there is any honesty in human nature, they cannot be. In the first place, the abolitionists cannot vote for Gen. Taylor. The abstraction of the vote of that party from the whig candidate will reduce his vote at least 8,000 in Ohio, and 4,000 in Pennsylvania. The abstraction also of the pretended "free-soil" faction will take from him many thousand more in both States. Neither abolitionists nor Van Buren men can vote for the whig nominee, without proving themselves to be utterly corrupt and unprincipled. To these may be added Quakers and other religious denominations, who cannot, upon principle, vote for a military candidate, who now belongs to the army and wears a sword by his side.

*We, therefore, believe it to be morally impossible for the whig party to carry either Pennsylvania or Ohio, if our brethren in those States manifestly do their duty, as we have every reason to believe they will.*

In addition to the encouraging signs which have been indicated in the State elections during the summer and autumn, and the certain prospect of carrying Pennsylvania and Ohio in the approaching presidential election, we have the strongest assurances that Tennessee, and perhaps even North Carolina, will be added to the phalanx of democratic States in November.

We, therefore, unhesitatingly say to our democratic brethren of the Union, be of good cheer: *Your final success is certain*, if you do your duty manfully and faithfully until the election. But you must no longer fold your arms in inactivity; *you must work*—you must speak—you must write—you must organize forthwith in every county, town, and school district; and you must rally every democrat and bring him to the polls.

We speak plainly to you, because we would not disguise from you the necessity of instant and untiring effort. The unexpected gains of our opponents have aroused them from the gloomiest despair to wild and unreasonable hope. It will stimulate them to additional exertion, which will render activity and energy more necessary on the part of the democracy. Brethren, when we call upon you to make the necessary efforts for success, we are confident we shall not be disappointed.



We would address the old democracy—the supporters of Jefferson, Madison, and Jackson—and ask if they desire a return of the federal party to power, with its odious policy and its obnoxious measures? Are the fruits of a quarter of a century of hard struggle now to be lost for the want of a little effort on your part? We do not believe it.

To our naturalized fellow-citizens—to Frenchmen, Germans, Irish, English, now citizens of the United States—we appeal. Do you desire to see the party elevated to power that proscribes you—the party that passed the infamous *alien* law—the party who would never permit you to become citizens in this land of liberty, this asylum of the oppressed, to which you have come to enjoy the sweets of freedom; the party that openly leagues with the proscriptive native Americans to overthrow the democracy, who stand by your rights and privileges? If not, you cannot fail to rally under the banner of democracy, which is the party of equal rights and of liberty.

To the patriotic people of the United States we would appeal. Do you desire the success of the party that opposes your country in every foreign controversy; the party whose leaders have committed "*moral treason*" in two wars—the war with England in 1812, and the war with Mexico in 1847?—the party whose candidate is supported in one portion of the Union because he is in favor of the extension of slavery, and in the other because he is not? If not, then cast your ballots for the candidates of the party whose feelings are American, and whose principles are not hidden from the people.

To our democratic brethren we again say, a glorious and splendid triumph is within your reach, if you will make the necessary efforts to secure it. Will you not do it? We await, in confidence, your answer at the ballot-boxes in November.

WASHINGTON, October 16, 1848.

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### ***Millard Fillmore's Abolitionism Proved, Beyond the Power of Contradiction.***

That Millard Fillmore, the candidate of the Whig party for the office of Vice President of the United States, is an Abolitionist of the most ultra kind, we have testimony that cannot be denied nor disproved. We call upon the people of the South to read the following proofs of the opinions and acts of Millard Fillmore, with regard to the subject of slavery, and then to determine for themselves whether they can trust their great and vital interest to his keeping, as Vice President of the United States, holding the casting vote in the Senate.

So far back as October, 1838, he was interrogated by a committee appointed by "The Anti-Slavery Society of the county of Erie," in his district, with regard to the reception of Abolition petitions by Congress, the annexation of Texas, the ABOLITION OF THE INTERNAL SLAVE TRADE AMONG THE STATES, and the IMMEDIATE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. The following is his reply:

BUFFALO, October 17, 1838.

SIR: Your communication of the 15th instant, as chairman of a committee appointed by "The Anti-Slavery Society of the county of Erie" has just come to hand. You solicit my answer to the following interrogatories:

- 1st. Do you believe that petitions to Congress on the subject of slavery and the slave trade ought to be received, read, and respectfully considered by the representatives of the people?
- 2d. Are you opposed to the annexation of Texas to this Union, under any circumstances, so long as slaves are held therein?

3d. Are you in favor of Congress exercising all the constitutional power it possesses to abolish the internal slave trade between the States?

4th. Are you in favor of immediate legislation for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia?

I am much engaged, and have no time to enter into an argument or to explain at length my reasons for my opinion. I shall therefore content myself for the present by answering ALL your interrogatories in the AFFIRMATIVE, and leave for some future occasion a more extended discussion of the subject.

I am, respectfully, your obedient servant,  
W. MILLS, Esq., *Chairman*.

MILLARD FILLMORE.

In the letter which we have above copied, Mr. Fillmore gave his adhesion to all the prominent doctrines of the Abolitionists—doctrines which, if they ever prevail, **WILL BE FATAL TO THE VITAL INTERESTS OF THE SLAVE STATES AND TO THE UNION ITSELF.**

Mr. Fillmore was elected to Congress, and in that body he pursued a course which was consistent with the Abolition sentiments avowed by him in his letter in reply to the interrogatories of the Abolition Society of the county of Erie, in which he resided. One of his first acts was to vote against the well-known Atherton Resolutions, as the Journals of Congress abundantly prove.

On the 13th of December, 1838, during the third session of the 25th Congress, Mr. Wise moved a suspension of the rules of the House of Representatives, for the purpose of introducing a series of resolutions—

1. To declare "that Congress has no power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, or in the Territories of the United States.
2. "That Congress has no power to abolish the slave trade, or prohibit the removal of slaves between the States, or the States and the District of Columbia, and Territories of the U. States.
3. "That Congress has no right to receive petitions relating to the subject of slavery.
4. "That Congress alone has the power to legislate with regard to the apprehension of fugitive slaves.
5. "That Congress cannot refuse the admission of a State into the Union on account of the existence of the institution of slavery in her limits.
6. "That slaveholders have the right to pass through and temporarily sojourn in the non-slaveholding States, without the latter becoming *ipso facto* free."

On the motion of Mr. Wise to suspend the rules, *Mr. Fillmore voted in the negative, and against the suspension.*

On the same day, Mr. Slade asked leave to submit the following:

"Whereas there exists, and is carried on between the ports in the District of Columbia and other ports of the United States, and under the sanction of the laws thereof, a trade in human beings, whereby thousands of them are annually sold and transported from said District to distant parts of the country, in vessels belonging to citizens of the United States; and, whereas, such trade involves an outrageous violation of human rights, is a disgrace to the country by whose laws it is sanctioned, and calls for the immediate interposition of legislative authority for its suppression: therefore, to the end that all obstacles to the consideration of this subject may be removed, and a remedy for the evil speedily provided,

*Resolved*, That so much of the fifth of the resolutions on the subject of slavery, passed by this House on the 11th and 12th of the present month, as relates to the 'removal of slaves from State to State,' and prohibits the action of this House on 'every petition, memorial, resolution, proposition, or paper touching' the same, be, and hereby is rescinded."

Objections being made, Mr. S. moved a suspension of the rules, and demanded the yeas and nays; which, being ordered, were—yeas 53, nays 157—Fillmore voting in the affirmative.

On the 21st January, 1841, Mr. Adams presented and moved the reference of a petition, asking the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and in the Territories; also, that no new Territory tolerating slavery, may be admitted into the Union.



Mr. Conner moved to lay that portion of the petition which came under the standing rule on the table.

Mr. Adams asked how that was to be done, for the petition must then necessarily be cut in two.

Mr. Warren of Georgia observed that, if the petitioners thought proper to attach objectionable matter, not receivable by the House, to their petition, they ought not to complain if the whole was rejected. He therefore moved the rejection of the whole.

That portion of the petition coming under the rule, having been laid on the table *sub silentio*,

Mr. Black of Georgia moved to reconsider the vote, for the purpose, in case it should be reconsidered, of moving the rejection of the whole, as he contended that no part of it ought to have been received.

On that motion, Mr. Adams demanded the yeas and nays, which were ordered, and decided by yeas and nays as follows: yeas 103, nays 51. Fillmore in the negative.—See Cong. Globe, page 116; House Journal, page 202.

On the 3d January, 1843, Mr. Morgan presented a resolution instructing the Committee on the Territories to inquire into the expediency of repealing an act passed by the Territorial Legislature of Florida, entitled "An act to prevent the future migration or emigration of free negroes and mulattoes into said Territory," or so much thereof as imposes a capitation tax on such of them as may enter said Territory, and authorizes their sale for 99 years for non-payment of said tax.

Mr. Black moved to lay the resolution on the table.

Mr. James called for the yeas and nays, which were ordered, and being taken, resulted in yeas 113, nays 80. Fillmore in the negative.—See Cong. Globe, page 107; House Journal, page 131.

On the 23d February, Mr. Briggs of Massachusetts asked leave to submit the following resolution:

"Whereas all laws passed by the Governor and Legislative Council of Florida are in full force until disapproved by Congress; therefore

*Resolved*, That the Committee on the Judiciary be instructed, forthwith, to report the following bill:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled*, That an act passed by the Governor and Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida, approved by the said Governor on the 5th day of March, 1842, entitled "An act to prevent the future migration of free negroes or mulattoes to this Territory, and for other purposes," be and the same is hereby disapproved, and shall henceforth be of no force.

Mr. Meriwether, of Georgia, objected to the reception of the resolution.

Mr. Briggs moved a suspension of the rules.

Mr. Fillmore believed that the subject had been referred to the Committee on the Judiciary; and he wished to know whether they had reported on it.

The Speaker said they had not. This resolution was to direct them to report forthwith.

The yeas and nays were ordered on the suspension of the rules.

The question was then taken on the motion of Mr. Briggs to suspend the rules; and it was decided in the negative—yeas 66, nays 104. Mr. Fillmore voted in the affirmative.

Many other similar votes Mr. Fillmore gave while he was in Congress, which it is unnecessary to refer to particularly. They prove beyond the power of contradiction that Millard Fillmore, the Whig candidate for Vice President of the United States, was an Abolitionist when he became a member of Congress, and that all the votes he there gave were consistent with the sentiments and pledges contained in his letter dated October 17, 1838, in reply to the Committee of the Abolition Society of the county of Erie, in New York, where he then resided.

Has he changed his sentiments upon the particular subjects mentioned in that letter?

Listen to the testimony of Horace Greely, and his fellow Whigs, convened in the city of New York, in November, 1847, to ratify, among others, the nomination of Millard Fillmore for the office of Comptroller of that State; to which office he was subsequently elected, and now holds. Mr. Greely was appointed to prepare an address and resolutions on the occasion. The following are extracts from the address and resolutions prepared by Mr. Greely, and adopted by the meeting:

"Who these candidates are, you already know—*what* they are and how much they deserve at your hands, you also know. Idle would it be in this community and before a Whig assemblage to waste words of eulogium on HAMILTON FISH, MILLARD FILLMORE, CHRISTOPHER MORGAN, AMBROSE L. JORDAN and their associates on the Whig State Ticket."

"Whatever diversity of opinion might exist among us as to other questions, there is none with regard to whig principles and measures. On all the great, enduring questions of National or State policy involved in the pending contest—Protection to Home Labor, Internal Improvement, and the RESTRICTION OF SLAVERY within its present Constitutional boundaries—we stand where our fathers stood."

"Within thirty years, the policy of Legislative encouragement to depressed or undeveloped branches of Industry, and THE INFLEXIBLE HOSTILITY OF OUR FREEMEN TO ANY EXTENSION OF SLAVE TERRITORY UNDER OUR FEDERAL UNION, HAVE BEEN REPEATEDLY AFFIRMED BY UNANIMOUS VOTES OF DIFFERENT LEGISLATURES OF NEW YORK."

"Resolved, That we earnestly deprecate, and will resist to the utmost, the Extension of Human Slavery under our laws and our flag into any territory previously free from that scourge; we deny the Constitutional right so as to extend and establish it, and we call on all who love Liberty, whatever their name or party, to unite with us in averting the evil and reproach of propagating Bondage from this boasted Land of Freedom."

"Resolved, That in HAMILTON FISH, MILLARD FILLMORE, CHRISTOPHER MORGAN, AMBROSE L. JORDAN, ALVAH HUNT, and their associates on the Whig State Ticket; we have candidates of proved integrity, undoubted capacity, unsullied character, and unwavering Whig principles, whom we are proud to recognize and point to as champions of our Cause, and we will give them henceforth, and especially next Tuesday, that support which they eminently deserve and which our Country's good emphatically requires at our hands."

*Thus the friends and political supporters of Millard Fillmore, in New York, among whom, is that notorious Abolitionist, Horace Greely, have given unmistakable testimony in favor of his abolition sentiments.*

Now, men of the South, we ask you if it is possible to deny that Millard Fillmore is an Abolitionist? Is he not an "ultra" Abolitionist?

And yet, you are called upon by Southern men to vote for this undisguised and implacable enemy of your vital interests, and your Constitutional rights as members of this confederacy! Will you do it?

We appeal to Taylor men. Are you going to vote for Millard Fillmore, the enemy of Southern interests and institutions? And how are you going to separate him from Gen. Taylor? The same electors who vote for Taylor will also be elected to vote for Fillmore. *If you vote for Taylor you also vote for Fillmore.* You have no other alternative. Are you ready to do it, and thus sacrifice all claim hereafter to the support of Northern Democrats, who have alone stood by Southern rights and institutions. But,

### IS GEN. TAYLOR SOUND ON THE SLAVE QUESTION?

In his second letter to Capt. Allison, dated September, 4th, 1848, he thus endorses the Abolitionist, Fillmore:

"The Democratic Convention met in May, and composed their ticket to suit them. This they had a right to do. The National Whig Convention met in June, and selected me as their candidate. I accepted the nomination with gratitude and with pride. I was proud of the confidence of such a body of men, representing such a constituency as the Whig party of the United States; a manifestation the more grateful because it was not cumbered with exactions incompatible with the dignity of the Presidential office, and the responsibilities of its incumbent to the whole people

of the nation. And I may add, that these emotions were increased by associating my name with that of the distinguished citizen of New York, whose acknowledged abilities and SOUND CONSERVATIVE OPINIONS MIGHT HAVE JUSTLY ENTITLED HIM TO THE FIRST PLACE ON THE TICKET."

At the close of a pamphlet, entitled "Reasons Good and True for supporting the nomination of General Zachary Taylor," is a letter purporting to be from a person intimate with Gen. Taylor, and supposed to be Major Bliss, from which we copy the following passages :

"With regard to slavery, and extension of territory, I assure you that, neither for a slave market, nor any other object, was General Taylor in favor of conquest and annexation. He was not in favor of receiving Texas into our Union, nor in favor of the recent war with Mexico. The only evidence of his being in favor of slavery, that I ever saw or heard of, was the fact that he did what every man at the South must do, if he would have servants, viz: either own or hire slaves. I do well remember that a part at least of the colored people living in his family could read well, and were very pious. I never heard a word from the General in favor of the slave system; but, on the contrary, his decided preference for the institutions and customs of the North.

It is a pity that General Taylor should be made out a pro-slavery man because his Government keeps him at the South, or for the wrong of allowing his plantation to be on the Mississippi, instead of the banks of the Connecticut. We are allowed to hang no man upon an inference.

I assure you that, if elected, he will do more for peace and emancipation than any Northern man would be allowed to do."

Moreover, people of the slave States, you all know that the Whig party throughout the non-slaveholding States are unanimously opposed to slavery, and to the farther extension of slavery. As an entire party, in the Northern States, they make "Free Soil" their issue against the Democratic party. *Not a solitary Whig member of Congress, from the free States, voted against the Wilmot proviso.*

The Whigs of the free States represent that General Taylor is in favor of the Wilmot proviso. They declare that they would not support him if he was not. Truman Smith, a Senator elect from Connecticut, and Chairman of the Whig Central Committee in this city, has declared, in a speech in Connecticut, that he has seen a letter from General Taylor, (or was told by a gentleman who saw the letter,) in which Gen. Taylor pledges himself not to veto the Wilmot proviso, if he shall be elected President of the United States. The Hon. Thomas Corwin has made a similar declaration, in a speech delivered by him in Ohio.

Now, has General Taylor written such letters to different parts of the Union? Or, do these honorable members of the Whig party utter gross and deliberate falsehoods?

Again: the leaders of the Whig party at the North know, that if they deceive their political followers with regard to the sentiments of General Taylor upon the subject of the Wilmot proviso and the extension of slavery, and allow them to be cheated, it is certain destruction and annihilation of them as politicians. Do you think they are going thus to sacrifice themselves and their party in the Northern States, for a temporary ascendancy of four years in the General Government?—Believe it not.

General Taylor knows that his party supporters thus represent him in the free States, and he has not yet contradicted them. If their statements were not true, would he not, if he were an honorable man, contradict them?—Most certainly.

*We are, therefore, fellow-citizens of the South, constrained to say, that, for the purpose of gaining the Presidency, the highest earthly honor to which man can aspire, we believe General Taylor has given assurances to the Whigs of the North, that, if elected, he will not veto the Wilmot proviso.*

YOU, then, are to be cheated in this foul juggling for the Presidency. And, if Southern men contribute to the election of a President opposed to their peculiar



interests and institutions, what can they hereafter expect from the North? What can you hereafter claim from Northern men? We assure you it will be a fatal and irretrievable sacrifice of your dearest rights and interests, upon the altar of political fanaticism.

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The following paragraphs are extracted from a speech delivered by the Hon. Rufus Choate, of Massachusetts, at the late Whig Convention held at Worcester in that State, for the nomination of Governor and Lieutenant Governor. They contain an acknowledgment that the Whigs of New England are opposed to the further extension of slavery:

"And then, Mr. President, when, in the progress of time, the attention of the public mind began to be drawn a little more directly to the great subject of human freedom and human slavery, the Whigs, the true party of national progress, silently incorporated another great doctrine into our creed; and that was to the end **THAT THE AREA OF SLAVERY SHOULD NOT BE EXTENDED**; that the agitating questions should not be introduced which would shake this glorious Union to the centre; that we would have no more territory anyhow. On that new creed, we rallied as a party against the annexation of Texas. Yes, sir, what party was it that has glorified and immortalized itself by its resistance to the admission of Texas? Why, it was our party, sir, the Whigs of the nation. And who was it that brought Texas into the Union, with all our woe, with loss of Eden? Aye, who was it? Who, but a portion of the party of the Democrats and the best personal friends of Martin Van Buren."

"I say nothing for myself, but as a great English debater once said, and I am sorry I am so nearly able to say it with truth, "I am old and slow," and speak not my judgment, which is nothing but the recorded opinions of 1840. But suppose he would not veto the law of Congress, prohibiting slavery in the new territories, **NEITHER WILL GEN. TAYLOR VETO SUCH A LAW**. On this ground, therefore, we will do just as much for freedom with him as with Martin Van Buren; while along with it you have peace, honor, quiet, and the whole vast body of Whig doctrines into the bargain."









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